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collected by Señor D. A. Tenochio and transmitted to the Mexican Society of Geography and Statistics. Noting the condition of the tribe at the time, Señor Pimentel wrote:

> The Seris are now reduced to a few families only, inhabiting Sonora, especially the island of Tiburon, for which reason they are also known sometimes by the name Tiburones. The Indians called Salineros, who live on the borders of Pimeria Alta, and the Tepocas, who live toward the south, belong to the Seri nation. The Seris have always been notable for their ferocity and barbarism, preferring death in war against the whites to the adoption of civilization. They are dreaded and notorious for their arrows, poisoned with a most virulent venom [emponzoñadas con activísimo veneno]. They are tall and well formed, and their women are good-looking. By reason of their distrust of the whites, it has not been possible to ascertain their traditions, further than that their ancestors came from distant lands of unknown direction. Of their religion it is known that they adore daily the rising sun.[1]

After brief discussion of the grammar, and extended comparison of some sixty out of the seventy vocables selected by Señor Tenochio, he concluded:

> Although in the list of Seri words consulted the foregoing reveal analogies with those of the Mexicano group, there are, without doubt, other terms belonging exclusively to the Seri or some other branch extraneous to the Mexican group; for this reason it would appear that the idioma representa a distinct family.[2]

The list of these distinct words was appended. Referring to the dialects, Señor Pimentel expressed the opinion, based on literary references, that the "Guaymas" or "Gayama", "Upangualma", and "Cocomaques" may be considered as belonging to the Seri family.[3]

While Señor Pimentel gave credit to his informant, Señor Tenochio, he did not indicate the original source of the vocabulary; but the source may be defined approximately by a process of elimination: there is hardly a possibility that the terms were obtained from any tribesmen in Seriland, since they were all inimical to the whites, and since very few of them have ever known enough of the Spanish tongue to permit communication with the Mexicans; accordingly, it is practically certain that the Seri interpreter must have been either (1) a resident of Pueblo Seri or (2) an attaché of rancho San Francisco de Costa Rica (of which more anon); and in either case it would seem certain that the native informant could have been none other than the standard Seri-Spanish interpreter of the last half century—Kolusio. Indeed, Kolusio was, at the time, the only Seri habitué of Pueblo Seri possessing sufficient knowledge of the Spanish and enough intelligence and independence to "give his language", and was one of the two frequenters of the rancho similarly equipped.

Pimentel's contemporary, Licenciate Manuel Orozco y Berra, contributed in important measure to systematic knowledge of the Seri, which

[1] Cuadro Descriptivo y Comparativo de las Lenguas Indígenas de México, ó Tratado de Filología Mexicana, por Francisco Pimentel, segunda edicion mucho completa, tomo II; Mexico, 1875, p. 220. The first edition of the work was published in two volumes, dated, respectively, 1862 and 1865.

[2] Ibid., p. 221.

[3] Ibid., p. 222.

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he defined (apparently on the basis of the Tenochtic vocabulary systemized and published by Pimentel) as a distinct linguistic family with two dialectic branches,[1] viz:

IX FAMILIA.—SERI.

XXXIII. *Séri*, por los séris, séris, tiburones, tepocas, salineros, en Sonora.
01. i. *Upanguaima*, por los upanguaimas, en Sonora.
02. ii. *Guaima*, por los guaimas, guaymas, guayamas, cocomaques, en Sonora.

Orozco's map assigns to the Seri family an immense area (recalling Villa-Señor's "despoblado") extending from just above the mouth of the Yaqui, northward to the thirtieth parallel on the coast, stretching inland nearly to Cucurpe, Opodepe, and Ures, and including Tiburon; the "Salineros" lying adjacent to the coast in the north, the "Tepocas" medially, and the "Guaymas" in the south, within this area. In elucidating the map he wrote, under the title "El séri.—El upanguaima.—El guaima":

The Séris, a tribe inhabiting Sonora, form, with its subtribes, a separate family. By their language, by their customs, and by their physiognomy, they are completely set apart from affiliation with the surrounding nations; and apparently they have lived in the district which they now occupy from times anterior to the establishment of the Pima race and its affines; their use of poisoned arrows recalls the Caribs of the islands, as well as of the continent, and it seems not unlikely, although very curious, that they are related to them. The Séris, known also as Tiburones, a name derived from the island of Tiburon in the Mar de Cortés, which serves them as a shelter, considered as parts of their tribe the Tepocas and the Salineros.

The "Upanguaima" (a very small tribe occupying the Seri border) and the "Guaimas", as well as the "Cocomaques" were combined chiefly on the authority of Jesuit writers.[2] In describing the State of Sonora he further wrote:

The Séris, bounded by the sea on the west, the Pimas Altos on the north, the Opatas and the Pimas Bajos on the east, and the pueblos of Rio Yaqui on the south, form the smallest nation of Sonora, but at the same time the most cruel and deceitful and the least capable of reduction to political organization. Hardly uniting with the smaller pueblos as at Populo and Belen, the rest of the nation engaged so constantly in cruel warfare that it was necessary to persecute and exterminate them. . . . Small as was the tribe, three divisions are known: the Salineros, extending to the confines of Pimeria Alta; north of them the Tepocas, nearest to the island of Tiburon; the Guaymas and Upanguaymas occupying the territory adjacent to the harbor of the same name, afterward added to the pueblo at Belen and blended with the Indians of Rio Yaqui. Furious and savage, they preferred to die in war against the whites rather than adopt their usages and customs; lazy and indolent, they so surrendered themselves to the passion of intoxication that mothers conveyed aguardiente from their mouths to the smallest babes. They are tall and well formed, the women not lacking in beauty. The poison with which they envenom their arrows is proverbial for deadly effect; they compound the venomous juice from a multitude of ingredients and fortify the compound by superstitious practices.[3]

[1] Geografía de las Lenguas y Carta Etnográfica de México, Precedidas de un Ensayo de Clasificacion de las Mismas Lenguas y de Apuntes para las Inmigraciones de las Tribus, por el Lic. Manuel Orozco y Berra; Mexico, 1864, p. 60.

[2] Ibid., p. 62.

[3] Ibid., pp. 252-254.

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The classifications by Pimentel and Orozco were widely accepted, and were given still wider currency by republication in standard works, such as the classic dictionary of the Nahuatl tongue by Rémi Siméon, in which is defined "La famille *Seri*, dans la Sonora, avec 3 idiomes: le *Seri*, le *Guaima* et l'*Upanguaima*."[1] In his ethnographic tableau of the nations and languages of Mexico, M V. A. Malte-Brun followed Orozco almost literally, save that he emphasized the suggested Caribbean affiliation of the Seri, saying:

> They make use of poisoned arrows, and when one studies their manners, their habits, their modes of life, one is tempted to find in them a strong affinity [grande affinité] with the Caribs of the continent and the islands.[2]

During the seventies Hubert Howe Bancroft was engaged in collecting material for his monumental series of works, and in arranging the ethnologic data for publication. Of the Seri he wrote:

> East of the Opata and Pima bajo, on the shores of the Gulf of California, and thence for some distance inland, and also on the island of Tiburon, the Cori language with its dialects, the Guaymi and Tepoca, is spoken. Few of the words are known, and the excuse given by travelers for not taking vocabularies is, that it was too difficult to catch the sound. It is represented as extremely harsh and guttural in its pronunciation and well suited to the people who speak it, who are described as wild and fierce. It is, so far as known, not related to any of the Mexican linguistic families.[3]

The only vocabulary of this language which Bancroft was able to find was added (without reference to the aboriginal source); it comprised the eleven words collected by Lavandera and discussed by Ramirez in 1859.[4]

The Seri, with their affines, the Tepoka, Salinero, Guayma, and Upanguayma, were included by Bancroft in his arbitrarily defined "Northern Mexican family".[5] The accompanying map (which is highly inaccurate) located the "Salineros" on the gulf coast, considerably north of the common embouchure of "R. de Horcasitas" and "Rio de Sonora", while the "Seris" were more conspicuously represented about the broad estuary into which the rivers embouch, and the "Tepocas" were located still farther southward on both Tiburon and the mainland, the island being placed too far southward and the river much too far northward.[6] Numerous data relating to the Seri were incorporated in his text; all were second-hand, though many were taken from unique or rare manuscripts. The coastwise natives of Sonora were said to "live on pulverized rush and straw, with fish caught at sea or in artificial enclosures"; mention was made of the allegation that "the Sali-

[1] Dictionnaire de la Langue Nahuatl ou Mexicaine, rédigé d'après les Documents imprimés et Manuscrits les plus authentiques et précédé d'une Introduction; Paris, 1885, p. xviii.

[2] Tableau de la Distribution ethnographique des Nations et des Langues au Mexique; Congrès International des Américanistes, Compte-rendu de la Seconde Session, tome II, 1878, p. 37.

[3] The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, vol. III (The Native Races, vol. III, 1882, p. 706). The "east" in this quotation is obviously a misprint for west.

[4] Ibid., p. 725.

[5] Op. cit., vol. I, pp. 604-605.

[6] Ibid., p. 671.

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to Pueblo Seri, and early in April obtained there a Seri-Spanish vocabulary of several hundred words, with a number of short phrases throwing some light on the grammatic construction. This record was transmitted to Dr Albert S. Gatschet. It comprises a title page inscribed "Vocabulario de la lengua Séri | Interprete el Gl. de los Seris | y otro Indio. | Pueblo de Seris | 4 Abril 1879"; four foolscap sheets (written on both sides, thus making 16 pages) of vocabulary; and a final page bearing two short phrases and inscribed "Los Séris, me dice el general de ellos, son como doscientos hombres de llevar armas—viven todavia parte en la isla de Tiburon, parte en la costa.[1] Pueblo de Seris, 4 Abril, 1879, Alph. Pinart." A transcript of this invaluable vocabulary is preserved in the Bureau of American Ethnology. There is nothing either in the original vocabulary or in the known correspondence relating to it to identify the aboriginal informant, but the identification is made easy through the coincident testimony of living witnesses and the unmistakable implication of the historical records to the effect that there was at that time but a single Seri Indian[2] resident at Pueblo Seri—i. e., the official interpreter, "El General" Kolusio. This identification is strengthened by the remarkable similarity between this vocabulary and that of Bartlett, a similarity made the more striking by the fact that one was recorded in English, the other in Spanish; the identification is supported, too, by Kolusio's memory of "giving his language" to a stranger "not a Mexicano" yet familiar with the Spanish; and the identification is practically established by the considerable number of terms expressing concepts alien to the Seri (e. g., ax, adobe, house, horse, hog, field, irrigate, pigeon, thresh, tobacco, shirt, the names of the months, etc), evidently acquired through long and intimate acquaintance with Mexican customs and domiciles and modes of thought—for all these concepts were familiar enough to Kolusio, yet to no other known Seri Indian of recent decades. Accordingly it may be deemed practically certain that M Pinart's vocabulary, like that of Commissioner Bartlett, was obtained from Kolusio; and it is at least strongly probable that both the Lavanders-Ramirez and the Tenochio-Pimentel vocabularies were derived from the same aboriginal source—an indubitably excellent source, save for the occasional interjection of alien notions, and the infrequent substitution of foreign equivalents for forgotten terms.

Barred from Seriland by the current war craze, M Pinart was prevented from obtaining much collateral information concerning the Seri; but he concluded (on grounds not stated) that "the Tepoca spoken on

[1] "The Seris, the chief tells me, comprise about 200 men fit to bear arms—they still live part on the island of Tiburon, part on the coast."

[2] M Pinart's reference to his interpreter is not only impersonal but ambiguous. "Interpreter by the chief of the Seri and another Indian" might be considered to imply two Seri Indians, though it may, with equal linguistic probability, be interpreted to mean the specified Seri and another Indian; and while the temporary presence of a second Seri at the pueblo seems possible, the sum of probabilities points so closely the other way as to demand the latter interpretation.

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the south of Rio del Altar is identical with the Seri",[1] and also that "the Guaymas were of the stock of the southern Pimas, or Nebomes".[2]

While M Pinart failed to publish, his linguistic collections were compared, systemized, and made public by Dr Albert S. Gatschet in a notable memoir on "Der Yuma-Sprachstamm", 1883. Comparing the Seri, as represented by the Pinart and Bartlett and Pimentel vocabularies, with the Yavapai, M'Mat, and incidentally with the Kouino, Tonto, Cochimi, and other tongues, Dr Gatschet was led to adopt the suggestion of Professor Wilhelm Herzog[3] that the Seri is a dialect of the Yuman stock. In the comparative vocabulary, which comprises about a hundred and forty Seri words (selected from the 611 terms in the Pinart collection), there are perhaps a dozen terms presenting some similarity to those of one or more Yuman dialects; among these are terms for ax, tree, split, tobacco, heaven, pigeon, dog, and others of presumptively or certainly alien character.[4]

Herzog's suggested classification, with Gatschet's indorsement, was accepted even more promptly and widely than the earlier classifications of Pimentel and Orozco. It was tacitly adopted by Director J. W. Powell in his classic arrangement of Indian linguistic families of America north of Mexico;[5] it was explicitly approved by Adolph F. Bandelier in his "Final Report of Investigations";[6] and it was implicitly accepted and fortified by Dr Daniel G. Brinton in his work on "The American Race".[7] Brinton's Seri words were "chiefly from the satisfactory vocabulary obtained by the late John Russell Bartlett"; of the 21 terms, about 8 (including that for the alien concept "house") suggest affinity with the Yuman, chiefly in the Mohave dialect; the others are either wholly distinct or only superficially similar, e. g., in the concurrence of a consonant or two, or merely in the correspondence in number of syllables.[8]

Stated briefly, the scientific researches relating to Seriland and the Seri during the fifty years from the fourth decade of the century to the middle of the last decade resulted in (1) a satisfactory survey of the coast, (2) the collection of two excellent Seri vocabularies, with a few others of less extent, and (3) two discrepant linguistic classifications of the tribe, both widely quoted and accepted.

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[1] Gatschet, op. cit., p. 191.

[2] Bandelier, Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, part i, in Papers of the Archæological Institute of America, American series, iii, Cambridge, 1890, p. 76. As already noted, it is probable that the Guaymas lost their "antigua lilioma" (Ramirez, op. cit. p. 149) long before M Pinart's visit; and pending definite statement of the facts on which his conclusion rests it is necessary to retain the classification based on specific and repeated, albeit unskilled, observations of the identity of the Guaymas speech with that of the Seri.

[3] In correspondence with Dr Gatschet, op. cit., p. 191.

[4] Dr. Gatschet has recently revised the data and recognized the distinctness of the Seri tongue (Science, new series, vol. xii, 1900, p. 936-939).

[5] Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1885-'86; Washington, 1891, p. 137.

[6] Op. cit., p. 74.

[7] The American Race: A Linguistic Classification and Ethnographic Description of the Native Tribes of North and South America; New York, 1891, p. 335.

[8] Mr. Hewett's discussion (postea, pp. 239-244) gives fuller details of this short vocabulary.

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171 The Papago, of the same region and linguistic stock, have a racing
481 game in which a ball of wood or stone caught on the foot is thrown, followed, and thrown again until the two or more rival racers have covered 20 to 40 miles in the course of a few hours; and their feats as couriers and trailers are quite up to those of the Opata. Yet among all these tribes, and among the Mexicans as well, the Seri are known as *the* runners par excellence of the Sonoran province; and it is but natural that their astounding swiftness and lightness of foot should have brought them an appellation among contemporaries to whom these qualities peculiarly appeal.

101 Accordingly, both derivation and connotation give meaning to the name, and warrant the rendering (much weakened by linguistic infelicities) of "spry" or "spry-moving", used in substantive sense and with an intensive implication.

181 The chronicles of the tribe, especially those written during the seven-
114 teenth and eighteenth centuries, indicate that the alien designation
175 was applied loosely and with little appreciation of the tribal organiza-
197 tion, just as was the case elsewhere throughout the continent. Gradually the chroniclers took cognizance of intertribal and intratribal relations, and introduced various distinctions in nomenclature expressing tribal or subtribal distinctions of greater or less importance. One of the earliest distinctions was that between the Seri and the Tepoka, and this distinction has been consistently maintained by nearly all later authorities, despite the commonly accepted fact (brought out most authoritatively by Hardy) that the tongues of the tribes are substantially alike. Another early distinction was that made between the Seri and the Guayma; it was based primarily on diversity of habitat and persistent enmity, though all the earlier authorities agreed, as well shown by Ramirez, that the tongues were essentially identical. The distinction has been maintained by most authorities and strongly emphasized by one (Pinart, as quoted by Bandelier), and since the Guayma are extinct, and hence beyond reach of direct inquiry, the early interpretation of tribal relation must be perpetuated.[1] Still another distinction was that made between the Upanguayma and the Guayma, and inferentially the Seri also; although the grounds for this distinction were not specifically stated, it seems to have grown out of diversity in habitat merely; but there were clear implications that the tribe or subtribe was
101 affiliated linguistically with the Guayma, and hence with the Seri, and
114 this assignment has been adopted by leading authorities, including
175 Pimentel and Orozco. Among the earlier distinctions based on indus-

[1] In view of the clear indications, both a priori and a posteriori, that the latest Guayma survivors must have taken the language of the Pimas (Yaqui) tribesmen with whom they found refuge, and in view of his failure thus far to present his data for public consideration, M Pinart's inference that the Guayma belonged linguistically to the Pimas stock can hardly be admitted to hold against the specific statements of the Jesuit missionaries and such accomplished inquirers as Ramirez and Pimentel.

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trial factors was the setting apart of the Salineros, or Seri Salineros; yet this distinction, fortuitous and variable at the best, expressed no essential character and has not been maintained. A much later distinction was that between the Seri and Tiburones, emphasized by Mühlenpfordt and exaggerated by Buschmann; but there seem to have been no better grounds for it than misapprehensions naturally attending a slowly crystallizing nomenclature. In any event it has not been maintained.

At several stages the chroniclers coupled the Seri with other tribes, on various grounds: in the eighteenth century they were thus combined with the Pima, the Piato, and especially the Apache tribes. In the earlier half of the nineteenth century they were frequently coupled in similar fashion with the Pima and Apache tribes, and in the later half of the nineteenth century, and even in its last lustrum, they have been similarly combined with the Yaqui. The later combinations seem to explain the earlier: the Yaqui outbreaks withdraw portions of the arm-bearing population from the Seri frontier, and the marauders take advantage of the withdrawal so regularly that a Yaqui scare is invariably followed by a Seri scare, and hence the two warlike tribes are constantly associated in the minds of the Sonorenses as synchronous insurrectionists; and scrutiny of the earlier chronicles indicates that most of the so-called combinations of former times were of similar sort.

On putting the chronicles together, it seems clear that the term "Seri" was originally of lax application, but was gradually restricted to the tribe inhabiting Tiburon and ranging adjacent territory, including the collingual but inimical Guayma and Upanguayma, and also the collingual and cotolerant Tepoka; and that the various Piman tribes, as well as the Apache, were always distinct, and commonly if not invariably inimical.

The ethnic relations of the Seri people attracted early and repeated attention. Humboldt gave currency, albeit not unquestioningly, to a supposed Chinese or related Oriental affiliation; Hardy noted the similarity of the Seri tongue to that of the Patagonians; Lavandera classed the language as Arabic; Stone and Bancroft circulated a supposed identification of the speech with the Welsh; Ramirez, and more especially Pimentel, narrowed the field of affiliation to Mexico and defined the tongue as distinct; Orozco y Berra, and more especially Malte-Brun, slightly reextended the field and suggested affiliation with the Caribs; while Herzog, Gatschet, and Brinton reextended the field in another direction and saw, in a vocabulary obtained from a Seri scion but alien thinker, similarities between the Serian and Yuman tongues. The recent researches tend strongly to corroborate the evidence collected and the conclusions reached by Ramirez and Pimentel; for the somewhat extended comparisons between the Serian and neighboring languages (introduced and discussed in other paragraphs) indicate that the

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Seri tongue is distinct save for two or three Cochimi or other Yuman elements, which may be loan words such as might readily have been obtained through the largely inimical interchange of earlier centuries described by Padre Juan Maria de Sonora and other pioneer observers—certainly the slight and superficial similarities with other tongues of the region seem insufficient to meet the classific requirement of supposititious descent from "a common ancestral speech".[1] Accordingly the group may be defined (at least provisionally) as a linguistic family or stock, and may be distinguished by the family name long ago applied by Pimentel and Orozco, with the termination prescribed in Powell's fifth rule,[2] viz, *Serian*. Conformably, the classification of the group would become—

Serian stock, comprising—
- Seri tribe, including Tiburones and (certain) Salineros;
- Tepoka tribe;
- Guayma tribe;
- Upanguayma tribe.

Naturally this classification is provisional in certain respects. It is little more than tentative in so far as the Tepoka are concerned, since no word of the Tepoka tongue has ever been recorded, so far as is known, and since the tribe is still extant and within reach of research; it must be held provisional also in respect to the separateness of the stock, which may be found in the future to be affiliated with neighboring stocks, though the effect of the more recent and more critical researches in eliminating supposed evidences of affiliation points in the opposite direction. The arrangement is in some measure provisional also with respect to the relations between the long-extinct Guayma and Upanguayma and the type tribe, especially since contrary suggestion has been offered in terms implying the existence of unpublished data; yet the presumption in favor of the critical work by Ramirez, Pimentel, and Orozco is so strong that practically this feature of the classification may be deemed final.

No attempt has been made to render the tribal synonymy exhaustive, though search of the records has incidentally brought out the more important synonyms, as follows:

Seri Tribe

CERIS—1826; Hardy, Travels, p. 95.
CERI—1875; Pimentel, Lenguas Indígenas, tomo II, p. 220.
CERIS—1745; Villa-Señor, Theatro Americano, p. 391.
CERIS TEPOCAS—1850; Velasco, Noticias Estadísticas, p. 132.
HERI—1851; Buschmann, Die Spuren der aztekischen Sprache, p. 221.
HERIS—1645; Ribas, Triumphos de Nuestra Santa Fee, p. 358.
HERISES—1620 (?); Van der Aa, map.

[1] Indian linguistic families, by J. W. Powell, in Seventh Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, 1885-86 (1891), p. 11.
[2] Ibid., p. 80.

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101 UPAN GUAIMAS—1765; [Kautzig?], Rudo Ensayo, p. 229.
UPANGUAIMA—1864; Orozco y Berra, Geografía de las Lenguas, p. 42.
N75 UPANGUAIMAS—1879; Malte-Brun, Congrès International des Américanistes, tome II, p. 38.
UPANGUAYMA—Synthetic form.
UPANGUAYMAS—1882; Bancroft, Works (Native Races, vol. I, p. 605).
UPAN-GUAYMAS—1890; Bandelier, Investigations in the Southwest, p. 75.

Possibly the name *Cocomaques* (1864, Orozco y Berra, Geografía de las Lenguas, p. 42), or *Cocomaques* (1727, Rivera, Diario y Derrotero, I. 1514–1519) should be introduced among the synonyms of the Seri, but in the absence of definite information it may perhaps better be left unassigned.[1]

101 Of the four tribes assigned to the stock, the Upanguayma have been extinct probably for more than a century; the Guayma may survive in
● 197 a few representatives probably of mixed blood and adopted language; the Tepoka have never received systematic investigation, but appear to survive in limited numbers on the eastern coast of Gulf of California about the embouchure of the Rio Ignacio sand-wash; while the Seri alone continue to form a prominent factor in Sonoran thought.

EXTERNAL RELATIONS

131 The most conspicuous characteristic of the Seri tribe as a whole is
648 isolation. The geographic position and physical features of their habitat favor, and indeed measurably compel, isolation: their little principality is protected on one side by stormy seas and on the other by still more forbidding deserts; their home is too hard and poor to tempt conquest, and their possessions too meager to invite spoliation; hence, under customary conditions, they never see neighbors save in chance encounters on their frontier or in their own predatory forays—and in either case the encounters are commonly inimical. The natural isola-
[186] tion of the habitat is reflected in modes of life and habits of thought; and during the ages the physical isolation has come to be reflected in a bitter and implacable hereditary enmity toward aliens—an enmity apparently forming the strongest motive in their life and thought, and indeed grown into a persistent instinct. Thus the Seri stand alone in every respect; they are isolated in habitat and still more intensely isolated in habits of thought and life from all contemporaries; they far out-Ishmael the Ishmael of old on Araby's deserts.

648 The isolation of the Seri in thought and feeling is well illustrated by the relations with their nearest neighbors (activitally as well as geographically), the Papago Indians. The Papago are much esteemed in Sonora as fearless fighters, always ready to join or even to lead a
[115] forlorn hope; yet when the expedition of 1895 was projected it was found no easy matter to induce the picked Papago guards quartered at Costa Rica to enter Seriland. They were ready, indeed mildly eager, for fray, provided it were on the frontier; but they held back in dread

[1] These names seem rather to be Yaquis, cf. Cocopa, Cocomiza, Cocomaricopa, Kahwan, etc.

2: Kroeber E-5 (1930) 1931 NU31 Seri NU31

to Ures is good farming country, and why the only non-agricultural people in Sonora should have held this stretch, is hard to see. Moreover, Orozco's bringing the Serian tribes so far inland as to abut on the Opata, severs the continuity of the American Pima Alto and Papago with the Mexican Pima Bajo, whose speech is almost identical. This identity is best understood as the reflection of a continuous occupation by the Pima of the whole foothill country from the Gila to the Mayo, between the Serian desert lowlanders and the Opata in their mountain valleys, with the Yaqui, Mayo, and other Cahita peoples replacing the Serians south of Guaymas where heavier rainfall and large flowing rivers made the lowlands attractive to farming peoples. The natural inland frontier of the Seri along the Sonora River would have been at the Siete Cerros, a low range some 25 miles, more or less, west of Hermosillo, where grass ends and creosote bush and giant sahuaro cactus soon become dominant beside mesquite. This boundary would have put the farmers on farm land, the roving gatherers into the succulently overgrown desert and along the food-stocked coast.

The Seri, then, in the wider sense, including the Guaymas, Tepocas, etc., were anomalous among the native peoples of Sonora in habitat as well as in culture. Now a similar country, almost waterless and cactus dominated, is the central segment of Mexican California. Here lived the Cochimi, dialectically the most divergent of the Yuman peoples, and with a culture similar to that of the Seri at least in its level. The habitat enforced a similar subsistence economy, unsettled living, scattering of population, inability of serious accumulation of property, and hence no doubt a relative paucity of most organizational aspects of culture. Whether the content of Cochimi culture was equally similar is difficult to say because of the melting away of the people. At any rate the question arises whether Cochimi and Seri are not historically connected, especially as both their languages are related to Yuman, whereas all other Sonora tribes are Uto-Aztecans. The connection seems the more possible in that southwest of Tiburon lies San Esteban Island; beyond that, San Lorenzo; and beyond, the great peninsula. The open-water distance nowhere exceeds fifteen miles. This is a difficult but not impossible gap to cross on cane rafts; and the Seri have skilful knowledge of currents and winds. The passage across the Infiernillo between mainland and Tiburon is little more than a mile at the narrowest point, but they often paddle five in their open boats to take advantage of weather conditions. The Seri remember navigating to San Esteban, and there is historical mention of crossings of the Gulf.

The final evidence for or against derivation of the Seri from Baja California will probably be linguistic, and if, as seems possible though doubtful, Cochimi speech can still be recorded in the peninsula, the answer may be definitive. The materials at present available

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197 are inconclusive. Some of the outstanding speech similarities and
171 differences are given in a section of the present paper; a fuller presentation will be made in a subsequent classification of the Yuman languages.

171 The Yuman tribes of the United States are better known, and there are published or collected accounts of the Diegueño, Kamia, Cocopa, Yuma, Mohave, Maricopa-Halchidhoma, Yavapai, Walapai, and Havasupai. These fall into two groups, culturally: the farming tribes of the Colorado (and Gila) bottomlands, and the gathering tribes of the desert and semi-desert of Arizona and southern California, the latter again affiliating with those of northern Baja California, such as the Kiliwa and Akwa'ala-Paipai. As might be expected, it is the desert Yumans of Arizona who show the greater number of resemblances to the Seri and fewest differences.

The Pima as the immediate neighbors of the Seri, and the Opata and Cahita tribes beyond, ought to show many similarities with the Seri, plus differences due to their agriculture and activities like weaving which are normally encouraged by sedentary habits.

Such are some of the indications as to the history of the Seri
114 and their culture, as discussed more in detail below so far as the preliminary data available allow. Further and intensive investigation
121 is obviously needed. On the side of material life, Mr. Davis' studies
122 ought largely to fill the need. For social and spiritual culture, the work will be difficult. It is not that the Seri are unwilling, but that they are inaccessible and hard to communicate with. The obvious procedure would be a study of their speech until it served as a medium. In that way both their language and their culture could be recorded hand in hand. But the obstacles are numerous. The island is thirty miles long by twenty wide. There is not a roof on it. The six summer months are extremely hot, and, along the coast, said to be almost insufferable from gnats and mosquitoes. Most of the few water holes are inland; the Seri live, except during the cactus and mesquite harvest, scattered in small settlements along the shore, often several miles from water. There is no communication across the strait, except by open boat, subject to weather conditions; and then it is twenty miles to the nearest house and a hundred to a town. Life on the island would be both harsh and monotonous to an unusual degree. Nor can the Seri as yet be studied by taking one or two of them to civilization for a prolonged stay. They soon become restless and homesick. Added to all this is the fact that their Spanish, though reasonably fluent in some cases, is ungrammatical, and would hardly serve for securing paradigms or accurate translations of texts; and while able to endure hardships, the people are not accustomed to steady work or mental concentration. The difficulties would not be insuperable, when the destined linguist-ethnologist undertakes the task; but he should not under-rate them.

2: Kroeber E-5 (1930) 1931 NU31 Seri NU31

SERIAN TERRITORY AND TRIBES

The close speech unity of the Seri, Tepoca, Salineros, Guaymas, and Upanguaymas is affirmed by all the older authors. The name Seri has however been used in several senses, even in pre-ethnologic days: (1), for the entire group of related tribes, sometimes excluding and sometimes including the Guaymas; (2), for the inhabitants of Tiburon Island and the immediately opposite stretch of mainland; (3), for the inlanders more or less associated with the mission establishments from Hermosillo upstream, in contrast with the "Tiburones" of the island; (4), for the modern fusion of mainlanders and islanders, which evidently includes descendants of all Serian tribes except the Guaymas and Upanguaymas, who became absorbed in the lowermost Yaqui tribe or village of Belem. It is in this fourth and last sense that I use the term; my principal informant, in the tradition given, employed the third meaning; McGee mostly the second, with a strong implication of the thorough apartness and greater primitiveness of the islanders, as compared with their ethnic kinsmen.

The Tastioteños of my informant appear not to be known otherwise. The coastwise alignment of tribes from south to north seems to have been: Guaymas, Upanguaymas, Tastioteño, Seri or Tiburones, Tepoca, Salinero.

As already mentioned in the Introduction, it seems inherently unlikely that Serian territory extended as far up the Sonora river as Ures, near which Orozco y Berra puts the boundary. His undue extension is probably due to the fact that the missions to which Serians (other than Guaymas-Upanguaymas) became attached, were situated in the valley of the Opodepe or Horcasitas branch of the Sonora. According to McGee[10] these Missions were: Santa Magdalena de Tepoca, founded in 1699, soon abandoned, location long lost but probably up-stream from next; Nacameri, 7 leagues below Opodepe; Nuestra Señora del Pópulo, 9 leagues down, at Horcasitas; Nuestra Señora de los Angeles, 3-4 leagues down, maintained, with preceding, until 1767; Pitic or Pueblo de los Seris, more than 12 leagues down (opposite Hermosillo), founded last, in 1742. Nacameri and Pitic sound like Pima, not Seri, words. Whether the river valleys from Hermosillo up were actually Pima territory, as here surmised, will have to be established from documentary sources, possibly supplemented by recollections of the Pima surviving about Ures. It is conceivable that Serian tribes had driven the Pima out of the Sonora valley shortly before the founding of the missions, thus effectuating the division into Pima Bajos and Altos; or that the Pima shrinkage out of the middle of their territory began after their mis-

[10] Pp. 66, 69, 78, 72.

2: Kroeber E-5 (1930) 1931 NU31 Seri NU31

LANGUAGE

Seri speech on first audition seems fairly difficult for the European ear. This is on account of the presence of marked tone instead of stress accent; an abundance of "gutturals," that is, palatal and velar stops and fricatives and glottal stops; a surd l and surd bilabial f; and certain consonant clusters. None of these features, however, present serious difficulties to a phonetically trained ear, and it is expectable that when intensive study can be made, it will show the Seri language a distinct one indeed, but in no sense abnormal. The tone variations are great enough to be unusually plain, and syllables are spoken in an even, measured way with clear articulation.

The principal present interest of the vocabulary I recorded is in the light it may throw on the ethnic relations and origin of the Seri. The vocabulary puts beyond doubt the often accepted kinship of the Seri to the Yuman languages.[11] However, the differences are also great. I had expected that an accurately recorded vocabulary might class Seri outright as one of the Yuman group of languages. This expectation however has been dispelled. Seri is coördinate with the Yuman group as a whole, not a branch of it.

Another possibility remains to be considered. The Yuman family may be described as situate at the head of the Gulf of California, extending east, north, and west of the mouth of the Colorado in a fairly compact block. The most remote member of the family geographically, as well as the most diverse intrinsically, it appears, is Cochimi, which occupied Lower California between about latitudes 26° and 31°,[12] in other words, the central part of the peninsula, across the Gulf from the Seri. Now if Seri is an ancient off-shoot from the main stem of the Yuman languages at the head of the Gulf, then Cochimi, which is also a much diversified off-shoot from the same stem, but on the other side of the Gulf, ought to represent a separate specialization independent of Seri, and the ancientness of split-off combined with the territorial separation ought to have led to an increased divergence of the two off-shoots from the presumedly ancestral and still relatively homogeneous main Yuman block. That is, in this event the relationship of Seri to Cochimi being through the main Yuman group, Seri and Cochimi should be more different from each other than either from Yuman. The line of similarity and kinship thus would be Seri-main Yuman-Cochimi.

[11] A. S. Gatschet, Der Yuma-Sprachstamm, 1882 (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 9-24, 1877-1882); D. G. Brinton, The American Race, 1891, 1901; J. W. Powell, BAE-R, 7:1-24, 1891; Kroeber, UC-PAAE, 11:279-290, 1916. McGee, 296-298, on the basis of Hewitt's comparative analysis, 290-344, makes Seri unrelated.

[12] Kiliwi or Kiliwa and Akwa'ala-Pakpal in the northern end of the peninsula belong with Diegueño, Cocopa, Walapai, etc., that is are "normal" Yuman and not Cochimi-Yuman in type.

2; Kroeber E-5 (1930)1931 NU31 Seri NU31

197 174 On the other hand, if the hypothesis were true that the Seri reached their historic habitat from across the Gulf, they would have come from territory which in recent times was Cochimí, and their presumably closest relationship would be with these former neighbors, and only indirectly with the other Yumans. Thus the line of affinity would be Seri-Cochimí-main Yuman.

192 197 [121] It is to test these two alternative hypotheses of Seri origins that the accompanying comparative vocabularies of Seri, Cochimí, Yuma, and Cocopa have been selected. They are limited because the only material pertinent to the problem at issue is stems represented in all three linguistic groups; and both the Seri and Cochimí data are scant. A number of words of the same meaning differ completely in the three groups—in their surface appearance at any rate—and have therefore been omitted as irrelevant. The residue consists of 33 Seri words which show more or less resemblance to the corresponding Cochimí or Yuman words or to both.

The Seri, Yuma, and Cocopa vocabularies were recorded by myself. Yuma and Cocopa represent distinct branches of Yuman. Cochimí 1 and 2 were recorded or copied respectively by W. M. Gabb in 1867 and by J. R. Bartlett about 1852, and are transcribed from photostat copies of the originals filed in the Bureau of American Ethnology and furnished through the courtesy of its Chief, Mr. Matthew Stirling. Both are entered on Smithsonian printed blanks. The Bartlett vocabulary is designated "from M. Robinia at Guaymas." It may represent a vocabulary taken down by Robinia from a Cochimí and given to Bartlett, or a record made by Bartlett from Sr. Robinia's memory of Cochimí. The words for two and three are identical, even in spelling, with those given by Clavigero. Those for one and man (tepeeg and tama in Clavigero) are different. The Bartlett vocabulary may thus not go back to a single native source.

The relations of the Cochimí dialects are not clear. To judge from the three Lord's prayers given by Clavigero, languages rather than dialects may have been involved. These prayers begin respectively pennayú nakaenambá, ua-happá anma-bang miamú, cahai apá ambeing miá, and are attributed to latitudes 25°30'-26°, 28°, and 29°-31° in the peninsula. Gabb's entry for "my father" is ka-ai and for "sky" em-bai, which clearly correspond to Clavigero's northern Cochimí cahai (h silent in Spanish, usually a glottal stop) and ambei-ng ("in heaven"). Bartlett's dialect is not so easily identified. His word for father is calembag, and his sky remains a blank entry. There are a few other identities with Clavigero, besides the numerals mentioned, but they are to words scattered in Clavigero's

2: Kroeber E-5 (1930) 1931 NU31 Seri NU31

text, without reference to the locality of the dialect from which they are taken.[13]

Gabb's vocabulary therefore represents a Cochimí dialect or language north of the latitude of Tiburon; Bartlett's, a Cochimí dialect, or possibly mixture of dialects, farther south, somewhat more nearly abreast the Seri, but of undetermined provenience.[14]

Words from both these Cochimí sources are reproduced as they appear in the Bureau manuscripts, except that the accents have been put after instead of on the vowels, and that Gabb's syllabifying hyphens have been omitted where their absence seems irrelevant to his phonetic intent. Gabb states that his *ch* is as in German; his ch is presumably as in Spanish and English.

In the Seri, Yuma, and Cocopa lists, the circumflex denotes long open, the macron long close vowels; small capitals, vowels obscure in quality; superior vowels, glides or whispered vowels. Of consonants, q is velar k; X, velar fricative; x, palatal fricative; c, sh; ʟ, surd l; italicised stops, unvoiced and unaspirated stops (intermediates); ð, interdental sonant fricative; v, *F*, bilabial v and f. The apostrophe denotes the glottal stop; its reverse, the Greek rough breathing sign, an aspiration;[15] a superior period, consonantal length.

In Yuma and Cocopa, the prime accent denotes stress accent;[16] in Seri, high tone. Seri low tone is shown by italicized vowels; middle tone, by lack of indication.

The comparative vocabularies of Seri, Cochimí, Yuman and Cocopa are given on the following page.

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[13] B, sun, yha, C, ihe; B, summer, mesho, C, méjíbé, June to August, season of pitahaya harvest, also year; B, autumn, amadá, appi, C, amadá-appi, August to October; B, winter, meaíbé, C, majíbé, December to February; B, spring, maaíbe'a, C, majíbea, February to April; B, 4, magarubugun', C, the same (but: B, 5, muguncoqui, C, naganaá tejueg iguimel). Bartlett's vocabulary is general, whereas Clavigero chiefly gives names of foods, plants, animals, and points of ethnographic interest.

[14] Ruschmann in his Spuren der Aztekischen Sprache, 469-472, 495-511, 1869, has assembled and discussed all available Cochimí material then in print, except Clavigero's.

[15] The initial pronominal h- of Seri body-part words might perhaps more properly have been written with a rough breathing, '.

[16] There is a tendency for the stressed syllable in Yuma and Cocopa to be higher in pitch, but the tone seems an incidental accompaniment, and not organic. The same is true of Mariopa and Walapai, and I now believe, contrary to previously expressed opinion, of Mohave and Diegueño.

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	Seri	Cochimí 1	Cochimí 2	Yuma	Cocopa
man	ktam	(wanyu-)amiˡ	delma'	l'pa"	iyupa'ɪc
person, people	o'm·é	maha	demanau'	pi'lpa"	icapa'l
hair	hetɪc'l	epok	lagubu'	hê'e"	amxwac
nose	hê"r	vichpyuk	huichil	hixâ'	ixâ'
eye	he'lo=X	yupicha	yebaka'	hêêu"	iyu"
ear	he'stɪa	mang-ngi	muguil'	hacma'lyk	icmâ'l
tongue	hipc	hapara	abilg	hipa'ly	ampac
tooth	hitâ'st	hastaa'	foea'	hêêp"	iya'wi'
beard	hita-môkno	hy-a-mi	jaeta	yâvomo"	laleme'e
bone	hitok	hak	acheso' (Sp?)	nyete-ácâ'k	nyengiyâ'k
blood	hfâ"lt	huai	jued, inad	ny-dxwi'l	nyény-exwa'l
house	ihpo	ewa	guaka'	ava"	•wa"
sky	amfm'c	embai		am·a'l	•mâ'
moon	hê'câX	konga	keglimba'k	zely'a"	xec.'a"
earth	emt	emat	akug	ama'l	AMAIC
rock, mountain	ast	echkai	aba'	avi'	AWI'
fire	emak	maahra	usi	a'a'a	a'a"
water	aX	tasi	cai	axa"	xa'
sea	Xepé	kachpara	caapai	axâ"sl'l'ly	xa'ca'l'l.
tree, wood	e"é, eqe'aXq²	wache, aput²	agimoso', allegco²	a'l'	l
maize	a'pX•tɪ.	pechkarai		tasl'lc	tcks
tobacco	â'pisqo'pX	mingnga	hui	a'û'v	'ûp
dog	aXc	ethatta	maaa'	axa'l	
bird	ce'kâtɪk	icka	kabio'	atciye'r	
good	Xé'pê	taf'p	aha'mi	axo'lk	paxwa'l
large	kâ'kax	chai	ca'okoo	vata'lk	âlc'l
small	kesîtɪ.	achtawan	canil	ano'qek	alytca'c
yellow	ma'sotɪ.	rimarai	yembil	aqwe'sk	qwac
one	taco²	chaqui	dopi'	ace'nt	•cit
two	kôk·•	kooak	goguo	xavi'k	xawa'k
three	ka'pXa=	kabiak	combio'	xamu'k	xamo'k
eat	hîk-e"êt	hu-a'	guaba'	hamâ'-m	'oma"
drink	axe-se'sî	desi	calisi'	xa'-sî'-m	'osi"

¹ Wanyu is young.
² Firewood. The first words mean tree or stick.

2: Kroeber E-5 (1930) 1931 NU31 Seri NU31

The Seri similarities evident in the vocabulary may be summarized as follows:

Definitely more similar to Cochimí: man, person, large : 3.
Somewhat more similar to Cochimí: tooth, house, two, three : 4.
Equally similar to Cochimí and Yuman: nose, bone, blood, sky, earth, fire, drink : 7.
Somewhat more similar to Yuman: hair, tongue, water : 3.
Definitely more similar to Yuman: eye, wood, dog : 3.
Perhaps more similar to Cochimí: sea, maize, bird, small, yellow : 5.
Perhaps equally similar: rock, good, one, eat : 4.
Perhaps more similar to Yuman: ear, beard, moon, tobacco : 4.

The result is, in brief, that the available data indicate the Seri language as about equally related to, and differentiated from, normal Yuman and Cochimí. There is proof neither for the hypothesis that Seri and Cochimí branched off in different directions from the main body of Yuman tribes, nor for the one which would branch the Seri off from the Cochimí after these had drifted into the peninsula and acquired a certain specialization there. The relation of the three language groups might be described as an equilateral one—or more exactly as isosceles, with Cochimí and Yuman somewhat the nearest to each other, but Seri equidistant from both.

Various hypothetical considerations might be adduced to explain this condition. Seri might be construed as an ancient offshoot from Yuman or proto-Yuman, which later came into contact with the Cochimí off-shoot and was influenced by it. Or, Seri might be conceived of as a Yuman branch that had drifted earliest into the peninsula and then was superseded there by Cochimí as a later offshoot from Yuman. But all such suppositions are equally lacking in positive evidence in their favor, and discussion of them tends to become fine-spun among conjectures. It is wisest to accept the salient fact, namely that available linguistic evidence affords no decisive proof either for or against the hypothesis that the Seri originated in peninsular California, and to leave the problem there in the hope that fuller knowledge of the languages will ultimately solve it.

2: Kroeber E-5 (1930) 1931 NU31 Seri NU31

by them at times. This raises the question of whether the Seri may not have reached their habitat from the peninsula, or possibly the reverse. The solution of this problem depends on an analysis of full data on physical type, speech, and culture content, and only a partly conclusive answer, discussed below, can as yet be given. In general behavior and temperament, Seri and peninsular Californians seem to have been strikingly alike; but this fact can not in itself be construed as evidence of common origin, because the similar psychology may be largely determined by similar residence and subsistence habits resting in turn on almost parallel environment; much as pastoral nomads or mariners in whatever part of the world, and with or without historical connections, are likely to exhibit analogous mental attitudes in contrast with rural or urban populations.

In any event, it is wholly unproved that the Seri possess a native endowment which is more animal-like, more dominated by instinctive impulses and less capable of cultural development, than other peoples'. In fact the improbability of such an assumption is indicated by their possession of culture traits, like certain games and their kinship system, which they either share with neighboring tribes or have developed into rather high specialization. The meagernesses of their culture are therefore evidently due to factors in their particular history or geography rather than to congenital deficiencies or abnormalities. This does not mean that it would be easy to convert the Seri to the mode of life of Pima or Mexican. Habits of irresponsibility and unsettlement once established, even through part of childhood only, are notoriously difficult to alter. Witness the Gypsies. However, such practical habit difficulties are of course no evidence as to quality of endowment.

The modern Seri are the amalgamated remnants of some three or four of a half dozen closely related Serian groups formerly recognized. The preponderant one in the fusion of these groups is likely to have been that which held Tiburon and the fronting mainland, on account of better preservation of their numbers and habits in the relatively inaccessible island refuge.

Seri physique is distinctive in physiognomy, expression, and habitus, as would be expectable in a people sharply set off from its neighbors in practises and attitudes. The measurements available show no very marked differences of gross anatomy from neighboring tribes, either in stature, head shape, or nose proportion. The head may be somewhat rounder than among Pima and Yaqui; the difference in body seems more to be one of greater slenderness than of greater height. The Seri abilities to endure hunger and fatigue and to run great distances are faculties possessed by nearly all tribes of the southwest United States and northwest Mexico.

The Seri language is intrinsically and markedly tonal, more given to consonontal accumulations than the neighboring Uto-Aztecan and

2: Kroeber E-5 (1930)1931 NU31 Seri NU31

197 Yuman dialects, and possessed of some relatively rare sounds like *f*. It bears an indubitable relation to Yuman, as was assumed forty years ago, but the relationship is remote enough to indicate that the Seri have had a history apart from that of the Yuman tribes for a long time, estimable at a thousand years at the least, to judge by the rate of change of most languages. The Yuman idioms seem to fall into two primary groups, Yuman in the narrower sense, in Arizona, southern upper California, and northern lower California; and Cochimí in central lower California. On Cochimí, which is generally reputed extinct, data are very scant. If this group of dialects showed markedly greater resemblance to Seri than do the other Yuman languages, a derivation of the Seri from the Cochimí across the Gulf of California (or the reverse, if Cochimí proved more different than Seri from Yuman) would be an almost inescapable inference. Unfortunately, the available data are too scant to allow of a definite decision. On their face, they seem to make out Cochimí and the narrower Yuman group as about equally distinct from Seri.

[7] Comparative analysis of the known specific facts of Seri culture, while impeded by inadequate information on many tribes, especially in Mexico, shows positive relations in all directions, but outstandingly with three peoples: the Pima, the Arizona desert Yumans, and the Lower Californians.

The Pima in question are those of the Gila river, the remotest of their nation from the Seri, agricultural, and demonstrably subject to some cultural affection by the Yuman tribes of the lower Colorado. Quite expectably therefore they lack many elements of Seri culture besides those which they share; not to mention a large stock of their traits not possessed by the Seri. Had we satisfactorily specific data on more southerly Pima divisions, such as those of the Sonora river, who were immediate neighbors of the Seri, there can thus be little doubt that an even larger proportion of the Seri cultural inventory would be found among them. More or less the same would probably hold for the Yaqui. These adjacent cultures would seem to have contained most of Seri culture plus increments such as agriculture, cloth weaving, and others.

The Arizona desert Yuman tribes, the Yavapai, Walapai, Havasupai, live farther from the Seri, in fact beyond even the Gila Pima. It is therefore significant that they show almost as many cultural agreements with the Seri, and fewer disagreements. They are perforce an almost non-farming population, except in a few spots. It is clear that they and the Seri have jointly preserved many features of an old, non-agricultural, desert-adapted culture. The Yuman tribes of the lower Colorado are much more different, though their geographical distance from the Seri is no greater. They possess definitely fewer and lack more Seri traits. This is not only because they

9:Malkin E-5 (1953-1955)1962 NU31 Seri NU31

II

OUTLINE OF SERI CULTURE

Territory

Historically the Seri territory at its greatest expansion extended from the coast of Mar del Cortez to Hermosillo and from Porto Libertad to Guaymas and included also the Tiburon Island. Ethnically, the Seris represented a collection of dialectically distinct tribes, the Guyma, Tepoca, etc., perpetually at war with each other, whose common characteristic was their culture, and who were framed in to the north by the Pima Alto and Papago, to the west by the now extinct Cochimi, to the east by the Opata and Pima Bajo and to the south by the Cahita, Mayo and the Yaqui.

But their area had fluctuated much. After the bitter and disastrous wars against the Mexicans from the late 18th century through most of the 19th, the Seris lost out and were forced by the Mexican government to settle on Tiburon. This incarceration did not last long. McGee had already in 1894 found them on the mainland and Kroeber found them equally divided between Tiburon and Kino. In 1930 when he visited, evidently they lived largely in Kino Bay. As the Mexicans pressed on Kino moving in, in ever greater numbers, and as Japanese fisheries worked the Gulf out of Desemboque attracting the fish-loving Seris, their main settlement has moved once more. About 1940 most of the Seris moved into Desemboque and at the time of my visit, almost all of them lived there while only two families made Tiburon their "permanent" camp. School and availability of the medical facilities as well as the location of the Mexican traders in Desemboque, part of whose scheme the Indians have become, attracted the Seris. Only occasionally today they roam inland or visit other areas, either owing to the hunting or fishing expeditions.

Numbers

Seri numbers fluctuated as much as their territory and had suffered immense diminution. I shall list the estimates below, indicating the source of the information:

	Authority		Source
1780	Velasco	2,000	McGee
1824	Troncoso	1,000+	"
1826	Ratio (Tiburon only)	1,000-1,500	"
1826	Hardy	3,000-4,000	"
1841	de Mofras	1,500	"
1844	....	550	"
1846	Velasco	500	"
c.1855	Encinas	500-600	"
c.1865	"	250-300	"
1894	Mashem, native	250-350	"
1930	Thomson	175	Kroeber
1934	Mex. En. Cifras	160	Ethn. Synth. Mex.
1953	Smith, Jr.	248	MS. Univ. of Ariz.
1955	Malkin	236	Malkin

439 little gods I traded some muslin, a harmonica and some *panoche*. For
123 native hair brushes, I traded three fine-tooth combs for catching *piojos*, or lice, easier. I gave each woman a little round mirror and they were greatly pleased.

To the old Chief I presented a good pocket knife and a mirror. For the bow I traded a spark lighter. By striking the edge of a small wheel with milled edge it strikes a spark from a small flint and lights a wick.

123 We asked for a dance, and the Seris, using the bow and striking
535 sticks for music, the slender girl jumped up and down on a flat piece
[534] of tin which served, instead, of a turtle shell and also served for
[352] baking flour cakes upon also. A while before, Louis had seen a woman
[415] wash her head and that of a child in the chamber pot, empty the water and then cook in it.

After the girl had danced a while on the tin, old Manual Encina pushed her away and hopped on himself and did the double-shuffle for half an hour, after which we left for our camp.

• 197 The language of the Seris is the most difficult and peculiar I
194 have ever heard. It is spoken deep in the throat with the mouth open and sounds like no other language I have ever heard except that there are some sounds like Papago.

439 Even before breakfast of the next day we were still trading with
123 the Indians, and in an hour or so I possessed nearly everything they had except their rags. They seemed happy and contented and postponed their trip to Hermosillo. I left some stuff with Louis Thomson to be traded later for bows and arrows, Pelican skin dresses and baby cradles.

We then arranged our loads, said *Adios* to the Seris, and left for Hermosillo, where we arrived without accident about six-thirty p.m. The sun was very hot and the road heavy and the sun glaring, and we were all very tired when we reached town. I stored my stuff with Mr. Marks at Hotel Cohen, and will crate it before leaving for Yaqui River.

123 Before leaving the Seri Chief I told him that whenever he saw
202 this sign---Circle Bar D and left hand below it, it was me---their friend, and not to shoot at me. He said he would tell all the Seris, and I left him my card with the same sign on it. When will I see him again!

642 BAND II *xika xnai kkoii* "they who live toward the south wind"
101 This group is commonly referred to as the Tastioteño. These
131 people roamed the coastal area from Guaymas to Bahía Kino.

BAND III *ta?eowkw kongkaak* "the people of Tiburon Island"

This band is referred to in the literature as the Seri or Tiburones. At one time their territory included only the northern and eastern coasts of Tiburon Island. Later it was extended to include the whole coastal strip of the mainland directly opposite the island.

BAND IV *?eno kongkaak* "the people of the desert"

The area this band occupied in the center of Tiburon Island is shown in Fig. 2.

642 BAND V *xnaamotat* "they who came from the direction of the
131 south wind"
173 The Seri believe that this band came originally from a region
628 south of Guaymas. It may have been the Upanguayma group
[101] mentioned in the literature. Its members came in contact with the members of Band II with whom they resided, apparently for a period of years. Whether the *xnaamotat* were Seri or non-Seri,
● [197] I have been unable to ascertain. Since no informant suggests that this group spoke another language besides Seri, it seems reasonable to believe that it was simply a distinct dialect group.

642 The *xnaamotat* were a belligerent people and, after fighting
628 broke out between them and the members of Band II, they
721 traveled northward. Eventually they established themselves on
[131] the relatively small coastal strip located east of Punta Tepopa as shown in Fig. 2.

642 BAND VI *xika ?ast ano koii* "they who live in the mountains"

[101] This group, which has been recognized previously only by
[131] Griffen, inhabited San Esteban Island. It laid claim also to the greater part of the coast on the southern end of Tiburon Island. One informant stated that in earlier times this band had ranged over all of Tiburon Island except for the northern two-thirds of the eastern coast, but that they were slowly pushed southward by the movements of other groups.

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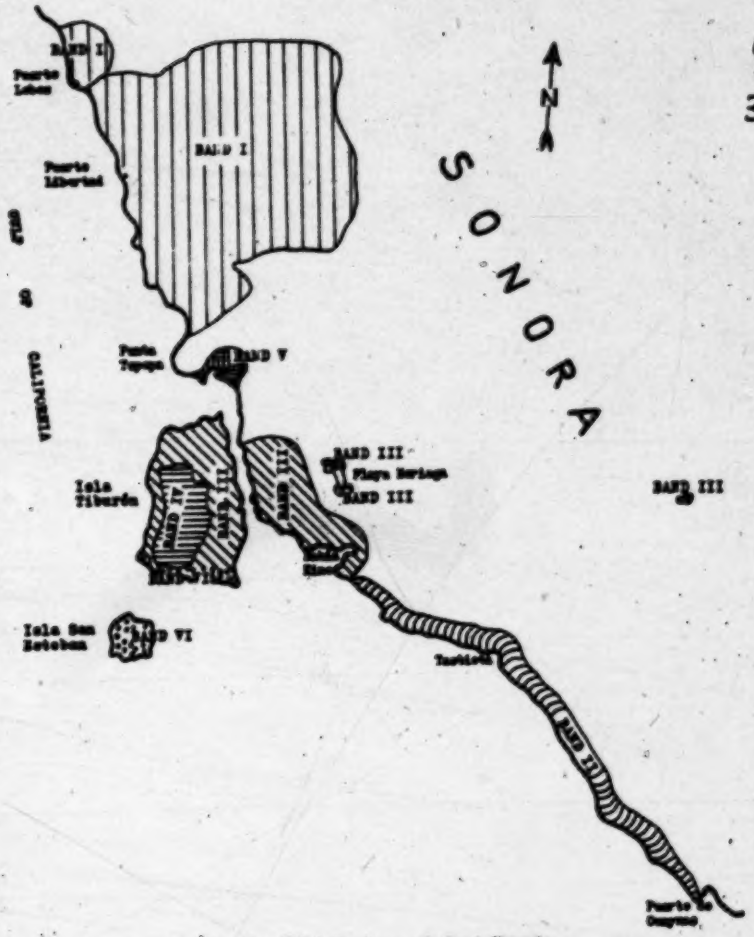

FIG. 2. Distribution of Seri Bands

DIALECTS

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The existence in former times of three distinct but mutually intelligible dialects seems evident.

Dialect 1 was spoken by Bands I, II, III, and IV. Any diversity of speech among these four bands seems to have been confined to word formation. The Seri language of today is derived largely from this dialect. [192]

Dialect 2 was spoken by Band V. This dialect is extinct and only scanty data on it can be gathered. From a number of expressions gathered, it appears that the dialect was characterized by extreme intonational contours. [194]

•197 642 [194] [193] Dialect 3 was spoken by Band VI. This dialect, which is also extinct, is described by the informants as musical and is referred to as "singing talk." Expressions which are recalled are characterized by sharp pitch contours and heavy stress. Several grammatical constructions from this dialect have been found to contain morphemes unknown to present-day speakers.

The elicitable utterances and expressions of dialects 2 and 3 appear to employ the same segmental phonemes as present-day Seri.

BAND SUBDIVISIONS

642 621 101 Three of the six bands were subdivided. The territorial subdivisions of those three, Bands I, III, and VI are shown on Figs. 3-5.

Band I

Band I became divided into six groups, each group occupying a subdivision of the band territory. Each such subdivision was called an *i?iziitng*. The name of the most prominent camp in each *i?iziitng* was generally used also as the name of that subdivision. The names of these subdivisions are;[4]

zaah ?akaila	"(arrows) shot at the cliff"
pailk ?aokwt	"driftwood huts"
xpano ?ax	"fresh water in the sea"
?aasixp	"white mesquite"
?axwil?om	"place of clams"
xapoya?	"sea lion . . ."

Band III

This band became subdivided into fifteen groups, named as follows;

?ah?ax	"whichever water"
kiazin	"long and narrow"
sakpatix	"_____"
?aank	"clam (species of)"
?atkisa	"rotten testicle"
taih it	"willow trunk"
inoo?kw kixax	"rattling stone bay"
xnitzk	"facing the wind"
takata	"_____"
?eeme	"camp"
?ast ?ax	"stone point (of arrow)"
sosnitaa	"in front of Alcatraz Island"
xoxaokl	"the large ones"
kail iti ktamkw	"men of the dry lake bed"
?ax ipak	"the other side of the water"